

## Message Text

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51

ACTION PM-07

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-13 ADP-00 CIAE-00 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 USIA-15 TRSE-00 MBFR-03

SAJ-01 SS-15 NSC-10 ACDA-19 H-03 OIC-04 AEC-11 OMB-01

RSR-01 /157 W

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R 311846Z AUG 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7196

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY BURSELS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USNMR SHAPE

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 12584

SHAPE FOR INTAF: GENEVA FOR U.S. DEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, GW, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATING STRATEGY

REF: A. STATE 170768, B. USNATO 3938, C. LONDON 9930

BEGIN SUMMARY: DURING AUGUST 30 DISCUSSION WITH  
EMBOFF REGARDING U.S. DRAFT ON MBFR NEGOTIATING  
STRATEGY (REF A), FONOFF MBFR CHIEF RUTH AGREED TO  
TWO-FOUR MONTH INITIAL TIME PERIOD, THAT U.S. APPROACH  
COULD COVER FRG (AND PROBABLY UK) INTEREST IN  
DEVELOPING MAIN AGENDA THEMES, THAT ALLIES SHOULD  
CONCLUDE INITIAL PHASE BY PROBING EAST ON PRE-REDUCTION  
CONSTRAINTS AND THAT TRADITIONAL "BARGAINING FAT/  
FALLBACK TACTICS" WERE UNREALISTIC ; BUT ON THE

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LATTER POINT, RUTH' SAID U.S. APPROACH COULD ONLY BE

EFFECTIVE IF WESTERN INTENTIONS ARE MADE VERY CLEAR  
AT OUTSET TO SOVIETS. RUTH ALSO AGREED THAT ALLIANCE  
SHOULD BE READY WITH ONE INITIAL FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL;  
"WHEN DURING THE INITIAL 2-4 MONTHS" AND HOW MUCH  
MEAT SHOULD BE ON THE SKELETON REMAINS  
UNDECIDED SO FAR IN BONN. END SUMMARY

1. DURING INITIAL DISCUSSION WITH EMBOFF OF THE  
U.S. DRAFT ON MBFR NEGOTIATING STRATEGY, RUTH SAID  
THAT, AS A WHOLE, THE FONOFF VIEWED THE U.S.  
APPROACH "VERY FAVORABLY." HE SAID HE FULLY SHARED  
THE U.S. VIEW THAT IT IS NOT PRACTICAL IN A MULTI-  
LATERAL NEGOTIATION TO USE TRADITIONAL  
BILATERAL NEGOTIATING TACTICS INCLUDING TRADING  
FAT AND FALLBACKS. RUTH FULLY CONCURRED WITH  
ARGUMENT THAT SUCH A TRADITIONAL APPROACH WOULD BE  
DIFFICULT TO MANAGE FOR THE 15 NATO ALLIES AT  
BRUSSELS AND IN THE VIENNA AD HOC GROUP. HE AGREED  
THAT WE SHOULD FIX UPON A FIRM ALLIANCE POSITION  
AND THEN ADVANCE IT WITH DETERMINATION AND PERSISTENCY.  
BUT RUTH EMPHASIZED THAT "AN ABSOLUTE PREREQ-  
UISITE" FOR THIS APPROACH WOULD BE TO MAKE CLEAR  
TO THE SOVIETS EARLY ON THAT OUR INITIAL PROPOSAL  
REPRESENTED FUNDAMENTAL WESTERN DEMANDS. OTHERWISE,  
THE SOVIETS WOULD BE LIKELY TO TREAT INITIAL WESTERN  
PROPOSALS IN THE NORMAL WAY, AS PUFFED UP PROPOSITIONS  
SUSCEPTIBLE TO CONSIDERABLE BOILING DOWN  
IN THE SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

2. AS TO AGENDA, RUTH SAID HE THOUGHT THE U.S.  
APPROACH COULD COVER THE MAIN FRG (AND POSSIBLY UK)  
INTEREST IN DEVELOPING MAIN AGENDA THEMES DURING THE  
FIRST FEW MONTHS OF NEGOTIATIONS. HE REFERRED TO  
FRG PROPOSED NEGOTIATING STRATEGY PAPER (REF B) AND  
TO UK WISH TO DISCUSS AGENDA POINTS IN THE FIRST  
FEW MONTHS. HE THOUGHT THE U.S. APPROACH OF STARTING  
WITH OPEN STATEMENTS AND THEN DEVELOPING MAIN THEMES,  
PARTICULARLY THE IMPLICATIONS OF ASYMMETRY,  
COULD ACCOMPLISH ANGLO/GERMAN PURPOSES WITHOUT GETTING  
BOGGED DOWN IN DETAILED STRUCTURAL ARGUMENTS WITH  
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EAST. RUTH SAID FIXING OF A FORMAL AGENDA COULD BE  
A USEFUL DEVICE IN A SHORT CONFERENCE AS OPPOSED  
TO THE MORE COMPLEX AND LONGER RANGE MBFR PROCESS.

3. RUTH NOTED THAT THE U.S. AND FRG NEGOTIATING  
STRATEGY PAPERS BOTH CALLED FOR PROBING SOVIETS ON  
PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS AS LAST TASK OF INITIAL  
PHASE. HE ALSO STRONGLY SUPPORTED

INTRODUCING, IN SOME FORM, COMMON CEILING CONCEPT.  
FURTHER, RUTH SAID THE WEST MUST BE READY WITH ONE  
FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL WHICH COULD BE INTRODUCED IN THE  
FIRST 2-4 MONTHS IF THE SITUATION WARRANTS.  
THE QUESTIONS STILL BEING DISCUSSED IN BONN ARE WHEN  
TO INTRODUCE SUCH A PROPOSAL AND HOW MUCH MEAT SHOULD  
BE ON THE SKELETON.

4. AS TO "WHEN",RUTH ARGUED AGAINST A OVERLY RIGID

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MRN: 1973BONN 012584 SEGMENT NUMBER: 000002 ERROR READING TEXT INDEX

FILE; TELEGRAM TEXT FOR THIS SEGMENT IS UNAVAILABLE

## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
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**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** GW  
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**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 31 AUG 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** garlanwa  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
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**TAGS:** PARM, NATO  
**To:** SECSTATE WASHDC WASHDC LONDON BURSSSELS THE HAGUE GENEVA NATO BRUSSELS USNMR SHAPE  
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